GREET VINCENT HALLINAN AT GUARDIAN RALLY • N.Y. CITY CENTER APR. 20

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A SOVIET HONOR GUARD GREETS F.D.R. IN REVIEW AT THE YALTA AIRPORT

WAR & PEACE

Why Yalta papers were published

By Tabitha Petran

PUBLICATION of Washington's Yalta Papers coincided with final ratification of W. German rearmament by the major U.S. allies, a new war crisis brewing in Formosa Strait, and the President's promise to use atomic weapons in the next war—a war most of his top advisers want to launch now against China.

The record of Roosevelt's effort a decade ago to lay the basis for 50 years of peace throws into relief the present perilous insolvency of the men and forces that wrecked his policies.

Reopening of Yalta had several aims: to discredit diplomacy; further to embitter international relations; and to erase for good what the N.Y. **Times** as long ago as Sept. 29, 1945, called "an era almost everyone [in the U.S. and British governments] wants to forget"—that is, the era based on the concept of co-existence with the socialist world. Above all, it was another ominous sign of the rigidity of Washington's policy, a gesture of frustration, "a noise to distract public attention from . . . tension in the Far East . . . and what we do about the H-bomb" (Thos. L. Stokes, N.Y. **Post**, 3/22).

LOSE FACE OR BLOOD: The big question today, wrote James Reston (**NYT**, 3/25 & 27) is "how the U.S. is going to get out of the Quemoy-Matsu affair without loss of face or loss of blood"; but the Senate, preoccupied with Yalta and "who leaked the Yalta papers to the N.Y. **Times**," is looking the other way. This, at a time when Washington's "best-informed persons" believe the U.S. is drifting into a war in which it would lack the support of its major allies, and

Drawing by Gabriel, London

"We published these to show how wicked it was. Why, if Roosevelt and Stalin had had their way there would have been no cold war!"

> ". . . officials in Washington are now talking about tactical atomic weapons as if they were instruments of mercy that could knock out military targets more neatly and quickly than 'conventional' weapons."

The Democrats had as little to offer as the Administration: the N.Y. **Post** (3/27) castigated their Congressional leadership's "fantastic failure to perform the role of an intelligent, conscientious opposition on the explosive topic of Matsu and Quemoy." Sen. George (D-Ga.) Foreign Relations Committee chairman, who is credited with winning Senate approval of last January's "preventive war" resolution, proposed—on the eve of French Senate debate on W. German rearmament—talks with the U.S.S.R. "as the real hope of avoiding war." But George had no criticism of the Administration's course in Formosa Strait; he was as "cautious" as the State Dept. when Soviet Premier Bulganin indicated a "positive" attitude toward Eisenhower's extremely qualified suggestion for eventual four-power talks.

THE GRAND DESIGN: Now that W. German rearmament is virtually ratified, the West may try to use such a conference, and the public support there is for it, as a build-up for its long-threatened ultimatum to the socialist world—or as **Business Week** (3/12) put it, "to enforce co-existence—on our terms." (For years, Washington has said it could negotiate only "from strength," but strength is not needed to bring about negotiations when the other side offers them.) If public opinion is to be alert to this danger and to insist effectively on genuine negotiations, the myths of the past decade must be punctured. The Yalta Papers furnish additional evidence to do this.

At Yalta the three powers agreed on a basis of post-war policies and an apparatus for international action, set up later at San Francisco and Potsdam. Legal commitments often had to be stated in broad terms, since the precise conditions under which agreed principles would be implemented were not known; and it was sometimes impossible to agree on detailed arrangements. Yalta's "grand design for peace" depended, therefore, on the good faith with which it was translated into action. The U.S. papers and Churchill's earlier version[1] make clear:

- Roosevelt's effort to avoid gang-up against Russia, or any attempt to restore "the policy of barbed-wire entanglements from the Arctic Ocean to

(Continued on Page 6)

IN THIS ISSUE

ANNA LOUISE STRONG
Russia, China, Japan.....p. 7

W. E. B. DuBOIS
Endless war in Kenya.....p. 5

THE ELBE MEETING
One man's crusade.....p. 6

FREE PRESS DANGER

Senate bill bans papers 'promoting world communism'

SENS. Olin D. Johnston (D-S.C.) and Margaret Chase Smith (R-Me.) on March 22 introduced a bill in the Senate to ban from the mails and from interstate commerce all publications, foreign and domestic, which "promote" the cause of "world communism." The measure was referred to the Senate Post Office Committee which Johnston heads; he said he will ask it to "take immediate action."

Johnston said the bill was aimed specifically at the **Daily** and **Sunday Worker**, but it is so worded as to include all publications which the Post Office could define as "communistic propaganda matter." It would embrace not only newspapers, but periodicals, pamphlets, books and films.

BAN IS "STUDIED": Johnston charged that the government is "subsidizing" the **Daily Worker** at the rate of about $40,000 a year. He introduced with his bill a letter from Postmaster Gen. Arthur E. Summerfield reporting that in 1954 1,673,186 copies of the **Daily** and **Sunday Worker** were mailed; postage paid amounted to $3,653, but actual cost of transportation was $40,056. Summerfield refrained from pointing out that all publications enjoying second-class mailing privileges are "subsidized" in the same manner, and that large-circulation publications like the N.Y. **Times** or **Life** cost the government many millions a year.

Summerfield also informed Johnston that "there is presently under study in conjunction with the Dept. of Justice the question whether the **Daily Worker, The Worker,** and similar publications" are subject to the Communist Control Act of 1954. **Editor & Publisher**, influential trade journal, commented:

> "We have pointed with pride to the fact that . . . we tolerate all shades of opinion. Now we are on the verge of telling the world we can no longer put up with a spokesman for the Moscow party line in our midst. . . . We don't think the Post Office should be entrusted with dictating our political or ideological reading fare."

Time to move

WE URGE every GUARDIAN reader to write a letter TODAY to his Senators and his Congressman about the Far East mess Washington has got us into. Tell them that

- **It is undignified—and suicidal—for a great nation to run its foreign affairs by leak, bluff and blunder. If the President feels there is danger, let him say so; let him not allow a bomb-happy admiral to leak a story to the press designed to create hysteria and hatred of the Chinese people. Let the Congress warn its members against making incredible statements about non-existent threats to the peace and security of the U.S.**
- **The best insurance for peace would be for Washington to concede, as every other nation does, that Quemoy and Matsu are rightfully Chinese—and none of our domain.**
- **Washington must stop abetting the piratical outlaw Chiang Kai-shek.**
- **The President must order the 7th Fleet out of Formosa Strait and U.S. troops off Formosa.**

Get your friends to write too. It is time—long overdue—to stand up on our hind legs and tell our legislators to act like sane Americans and not like a pack of sheep frightened by a mythical red bogey.

—THE EDITORS

THE MAIL BAG

Anna Louise Strong

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Thank you for splashing the splendid news about Anna Louise Strong across your first page. Thank you even more for having had the insight and intelligence over the last six years to recognize that those charges were on their face unbelievable, and for giving to this grand old fighter the support you did.

It is high time to move swiftly to again utilize the brilliant pen which has been publishing Today. And why does not the GUARDIAN immediately sponsor a New York meeting . . . at Madison Sq. Garden . . . and have Anna Louise Strong tell the world what goes on in Formosa? I couldn't cross the country to be there but I'll buy ten (10) tickets to be given away to help boost the crowd.

Warwick M. Tompkins

The Garden isn't quite our speed—but arrangements for an A. L. S. meeting in New York in May are already under way.—Ed.

CIRCULATION MEMO

We are in the midst of a big-scale renewal drive. If you have a few hours to spare your volunteer help can be of enormous value to us. Drop me a note addressed to Renewal Drive, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7 for details. Or call me at WOrth 4-3960. The work will be at your convenience.

GEORGE EVANS

"The Unforgotten Man"

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

I am sure the GUARDIAN's record "The Unforgotten Man" will be far better than my own words to enlighten my young son who has grown up in this era of cold-war hatred. Please send it. If we have no bread, we can eat history.

Ethel C. Hale

See p. 3 for details.—Ed.

Face of the Arctic

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I note that in your report on the Museum of Modern Art photographic exhibition there is a photograph showing a grandmother nose-rubbing a child, both Eskimos. You do not give the name of the photographer; it is Richard Harrington. The same photograph appeared in his book **The Face of the Arctic**; and in the book it is explained that Eskimos do not kiss; that the caressing nose-rubbing is usually between the very old and the very young.

Your reviewers, by the way, have overlooked this excellent book, which is an eloquent plea for an oppressed minority, the Eskimos of Canada, who do not have the right to vote and are exploited in many ways. A new printing has recently been issued by Abelard-Schuman, 404 4th Av. Mrs. Herma Briffault

"Uncle Surety"

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Please urge your readers in Los Angeles to attend the 60th Birthday Party of Morris Goodman April 16, at the Park Manor, 607 S. Western Av., L. A.

Morris Goodman is a very active and devoted worker on behalf of the foreign born facing deportation under the Walter-McCarran Law. His role is to arrange the posting of bail when a non-citizen is arrested; in that role he is selfless and devoted. The 130 deportees whom the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is currently defending have lovingly named him "Uncle Surety."

Rose Chernin

How crazy can you get dept.

The closer men live to the soil, the closer they live to poverty and starvation. This makes them cunning, deceitful, quick to take advantage. . . . Historically speaking, honesty is a virtue that grew up in the trade marts and the business world, not on the farm.

—Holmes Alexander, Washington columnist, in American Mercury (March, 1955).

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Anon., New York City.

Forty Plus

LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y.

Please send me five copies of the GUARDIAN (Feb. 14). Deeply interested in our Senior Citizens as I am one, 72 years of age, and living on a dole so small that we seldom eat enough food. My wife and I are both heart sufferers. If one seeks relief from the Dept. of Welfare, City of N. Y., one must give up one's life insurance and run a chance to be buried in Potter's Field.

I formed a club for those who have problems at 40 years and older, the All Faiths 40 Plus Problem Club, 30-25 Steinway St., Long Island City 3, N. Y.

Henry Ummelman, Secy.

Army wrapper

CAMP ———

The Army can make it pretty rough on those to whom it wishes to do so. Therefore I am asking you to put the paper in a wrapper. This will also protect the paper, some copies of which have been arriving quite battered. Your paper has become a need besides a pleasure. Name Withheld

Peppery comment

DETROIT, MICH.

Congress and the G. A. W. (Guaranteed Annual War): Unless there is security here at home, there cannot be lasting peace in the world.

I love Chinese pepper steak!

Elno H.Hunen

The last days

ALGONAC, MICH.

What a hard time the liars and cheats in the Justice Dept. are having. As long as Matusow was on their side, he was a paragon of virtue and therefore quite reliable; but now that he is against them lo! he is not at all reliable—and a habitual liar, etc.

I never thought I would live to see such a day when the government itself would connive with criminals to convict innocent men. But I guess I'm incurably naive, for looking over modern history I can see that this is nothing new.

I think the thing that shocks me most of all is the way this corruption has seeped all through our national life, right down into the ranks of the majority of the workers themselves. That the only hope for this country, and other lands too, resides in the workers, I fully acknowledge; and I do not underestimate the bravery and integrity of the small minority who are holding at bay the encroaching police state in the U. S. But on the whole, the American people are occupied almost exclusively with their comforts and gadgets, and though many of them do acknowledge the wrong and injustice of our present day life, not one in a hundred is willing to do anything about it, even as much as write a letter to the President or his Congressmen.

Just the other day Eisenhower said what we need is more young men of the type of Vice-President Nixon in government. Yes, sir! I heard it with my own ears. Dirty Dick, who ran for office with the great Ike, even then as we knew at the time was guilty of cheating his government out of times that you or I would probably have been fined and jailed for.

I suppose we can sum up all this filth and corruption in high and low places by saying: We are witnessing the last days of a rotten economic system that has had its day. D. Florence Fagg

An era is over

DELAWARE, OHIO

With the so-called publication of the Yalta conference, I anticipate your articles dealing with said papers. Another act of desperation. The Eisenhower Era is over. Enclosed is a check for $25 as a contribution for your excellent editing of national and international events. Harris Horn

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"He says he'd much prefer to liberate the mainland first and then be evacuated—quick!"

An honored memory

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The enclosed check for $45 is a tribute from her children to a dearly beloved mother, 73 years old, who died last month. She was a faithful reader and a militant supporter of the GUARDIAN up to the very end. She just missed your account of Anna Louise Strong's vindication, but it would have made her very happy. We can think of no better way to honor her memory than to suggest that this money be used in our fight to keep Cedric Belfrage in his adopted country. Our mother also had adopted it, loved it and joined in the struggle against those who seek to destroy its precious heritage. S. G.

No ceiling

WILLIAMSBURG, IOWA

Apartments at 4500 Magnolia Av., Chicago, in the early days of rent control, were $60 monthly for five rooms. An increase to $69 was granted. Since controls went off the rents gradually went up to $106. Now, starting May 1, the new rates are $200 a month.

This location is my former home, so I am well-informed as to the record. The building is a six-apartment, three-floor building, at least 50 years old. The apartments are 3rd to 4th class. Thought you might like the information.

Robert L. Moffeit

The Formosa pirate

CHICAGO, ILL.

Far too many individuals (obviously serious) contend that Formosa is vital to OUR security, our national defense. For them a thorough review of geography is essential.

Formosa's ownership by China has been unquestioned for centuries BEFORE our existence. Formosa lies within a stone's throw of the Chinese mainland. From his sanctuary in Formosa, where he has been installed by our country (without consent of the Formosans) Chiang conducts "nuisance" forays against China with spiritual and physical backing of our 7th Fleet.

He shells, plunders, sinks and harasses foreign merchant ships wishing to engage in commerce with China. The Chinese government meticulously recorded 111 such illegal interceptions of vessels, involving 43 British ships. These scandalous acts of piracy have occurred as much as 450 miles out on the high seas!

Could any nation, worthy of the name, tolerate such a situation?

Nellie De Schaaf

Rare devotion

TUCKAHOE, N. Y.

The other night a group of Lower Westchester devotees ran a party for GUARDIAN friends in the area. It was not an elaborate affair—just a speaker, some discussion and a raffle. But we had a marvelous time—the spirit was wonderful—it felt so good to get together with people who love and admire the GUARDIAN as we do. And best of all—we raised $250 which we are proud and happy to give to you to help you stay with us a long, long time.

Your Devoted Admirers

P.S.. Unfortunately, we must remain anonymous for job security.

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the progressive newsweekly

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"This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. . . . The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

REPORT TO READERS

'The Unforgotten Man'

YE EDITORS are just emerging, tired but glowing, from an experience we hope to share with every GUARDIAN reader: the production of our Roosevelt-UN memorial LP record, "The Unforgotten Man."

Quickly we must tell you that we didn't undertake this alone: we had the glad co-operation, guidance and unstinting hard work of some of the finest talents there are in theater, radio, television and music, and in the very special art of record-making.

This team, we are pleased and proud to report, has recaptured even beyond our best hopes in spunky, haunting words and music an era which saw the American people at its greatest . . . busting through reaction and machine bossism to strike at poverty, prejudice, repression . . . going places behind the best-loved leader in all our memories.

CAN OR WILL WE, the people, do it again? This is the challenge implicit in "The Unforgotten Man." Franklin Delano Roosevelt believed we could and would. In the undying words of his last message, written the day before his death ten years ago this month, President Roosevelt said:

"I measure the sound, solid achievement that can be made at this time by the straight-edge of your own confidence and your resolve. . . . The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

These words (from the message of April 11, 1945, remembered best for the theme "The work, my friends, is peace . . .") come at the conclusion of our FDR record, with a mighty chorus swelling the United Nations Hymn as the finale. With due respect to another record currently making the rounds, we think perhaps we should have subtitled ours "The Invigorator."

ECHOES OF FDR, despite the ten-year bipartisan effort to silence them, will not die out. On Wednesday last, representatives of the Progressive Party and the N. Y. American Labor Party appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to oppose German rearmament. They were able to cite many fellow-opponents, but none except Sen. Flanders among our nation's political leadership today. Our PP-ALP spokesmen were true echoes of FDR who told the Congress on March 1, 1945, in his report on Yalta Conference:

"We made it clear at Yalta, and I now repeat [that unconditional surrender] means the complete disarmament of Germany; the destruction of its militarism; the end of its production of armament; the dispersal of all its armed forces; the permanent dismemberment of the German General Staff, which has so often shattered the peace of the world."

WE URGE YOU, during this month of Commemoration (and, we hope, rededication), to bring the echoes of FDR into your living room, to your friends, to the people of your community. Your copy of "The Unforgotten Man" will be mailed out the day your order is received (see ad on p. 3).

—THE EDITORS

News is breaking fast these days!

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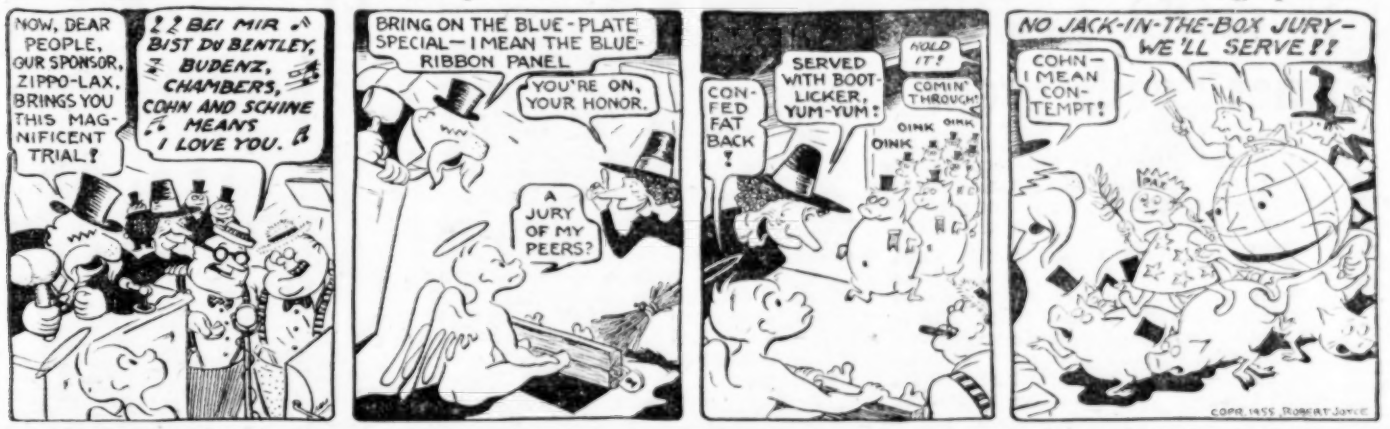
THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

Sliding panel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SERVED WITH BOOT-LICKER, YUM-YUM!
HOLD IT!
COMIN' THROUGH!
OINK OINK OINK
NO JACK-IN-THE-BOX JURY—WE'LL SERVE!!
COHN—I MEAN CONTEMPT!
COPR. 1955 ROBERT JOYCE

THE New York Sobell Committee, seeking the vindication and freedom of Morton Sobell now in Alcatraz a.m. as a victim of the Rosenberg case, has called a lunch conference for April 23, from 10:30 a.m. to 4 p.m. at the Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57th St.

John Wexley, author of a forthcoming book on the Rosenberg case, will address the morning session. Recorded excerpts from a speech of atomic scientist Dr. Harold Urey will be heard and the afternoon turned into a work session on the committee's program. Registration ($2.50 incl. lunch) may be made at the committee offices, 1050 Sixth Av., N.Y.C. 18.

THE PRESS

The man who got Gore gets an old-fashioned tanning

By Lawrence Emery

ROMAN REUTER runs a mink farm and a restaurant in Sauk City Wis.; his biggest ambition is to become the American Legion's state commander. When LeRoy Gore, former editor and publisher of the weekly Sauk-Prairie **Star**, launched his unsuccessful Joe Must Go recall campaign against Sen. McCarthy, Reuter rounded up a few followers and formed a Door For Gore club.

The Madison **Capital Times** calls Reuter "a watch-fob McCarthy" but Gore says he succeeded in creating a "wedge of hatred" between Gore and the community—and a few weeks ago Gore was forced to sell his newspaper to Elmer and Robert Anderson from Minnesota. Reuter considered this one of his life's prime achievements; early this month he went to Washington for Legion conferences to promote his candidacy as state commander, and while there decided to be interviewed by the press. He had this to say of Gore:

> "We are very happy that he is not going to publish our local newspaper. We just don't want him as editor. He used about a hundred feet of rope and finally hung himself. There was only one thing for him to do and that was to fold up. He brought it on himself. I'm not looking for any particular praise for what I've done. I figured it was my duty and I'm glad it turned out as it did, with Gore out of business."

"IT ISN'T THE THING": For the Sauk-Prairie **Star's** new owners, Reuter had this advice—stay out of politics:

> "If they keep their noses clean they'll be all right. Expressing political opinions in small communities isn't the thing to do. Newspapers in places like Sauk City get along well by staying out of politics."

He explained that by "politics" he meant anything controversial on any level of government. He added:

> "I'm still for McCarthy and always will be."

The boast and the warning stirred up a fair storm in Wisconsin. The **Capital Times** said Reuter

> ". . . obviously now intends to set himself up as the supreme judge of what weekly newspapers may publish. . . . It is astounding that this man should be serving on the American Legion's Americanism committee and aspire to the office of state commander. . . ."

Said James A. Martineau, present state commander of the Legion:

Philadelphia Evening Bulletin
HOME TO ROOST

> "Any citizen who thinks he should tell a newspaper what to print is a bit too presumptuous. Roman Reuter, as a private citizen, has a perfect right to make any statement he wants to, but he does not speak for the Wisconsin American Legion."

"GALL & IGNORANCE": The two top officials of the Wisconsin Press Assn. denounced the Reuter statement; one called it "one of the most asinine remarks I've ever heard." Both agreed:

> "It is the duty of weekly and daily newspapers to comment on every political situation which affects their community."

Few if any weeklies in the state had supported Gore's recall movement, but none had challenged his right to stage it; most were adverse to Reuter's stand. Joseph W. Bollenbeck, state commander of the Military Order of World Wars and a member of the Madison Legion post, said:

> "Reuter's campaign to ruin LeRoy Gore's business because of divergent political views was the height of un-Americanism. His words and actions constitute a deplorable exhibition of gall and ignorance."

NEW NOSES WILL SMUDGE: When the commander of the Sauk City Legion post called on him to apologize, the furor got too much for Reuter; he wrote a letter to the **Star** disowning his interview as "completely false." But the Milwaukee **Journal**, which first published it, revealed that it was written by the **Journal's** own Washington correspondent who had sent it with a covering memo that Reuter "would denounce me and claim he was misquoted" if he wrote "a bad story." The **Journal** said editorially:

> ". . . Reuter puts himself above the Constitution, which guarantees a free press and the freedom to believe and say what an individual chooses. This is a fuehrer philosophy. Sauk City might well wonder who named Reuter its dictator—and the Wisconsin American Legion ought to ponder carefully what kind of a man this is who aspires to lead an organization that is proud of its dedication to the American way."

The first issue of the Sauk-Prairie **Star** appeared without editorials, but the second contained "A Letter to Reuter" signed by both Andersons:

> "Right now our noses are nice and clean, but we expect that we'll find a little smudge on them from time to time. . . . We don't believe we would be doing our duty if we were to slink down the back alleys afraid to open our mouths to express our opinion on any subject that might be the least bit controversial."

Editor & Publisher called Reuter's position

> ". . . an outright negation of the basic American principle of free exchange of ideas. . . . We are glad that leaders of the Wisconsin Press Assn. have challenged the statement and the new owners in Sauk City have indicated they cannot be intimidated."

PATTERSON REPLIES TO THE WITCH-HUNTERS

CRC head says probers fabricated charges on funds

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS exec. secy. William L. Patterson, at the recent hearing before the State Joint Legislative Committee on Charitable & Philanthropic Organizations, said the committee had "deliberately fabricated charges . . . then fed the press unfounded accusations as if they were based on facts." The scare-headlined implication was that CRC had misused funds on a vast scale. In a statement filed with the Committee, CRC now declares the following "were deliberately concealed" at the hearing:

- "CRC has been in the forefront" of civil-liberties campaigns "against trial by Congressional investigation, Smith-Act persecutions" and "reaction's effort" to hamper the Negro people's struggle "to free themselves from . . . racist persecution."
- CRC sponsored publication of **We Charge Genocide**, documented account of "the crime of government against the Negro people."
- CRC in many civil rights cases—Willie McGee defense, for instance—retained lawyers to conduct proceedings in state and federal courts.
- CRC entered the Trenton Six case "after the men had been unjustly convicted on a frame-up murder charge and condemned to death"; retained counsel, appealed, won reversal "while conducting a mass campaign to acquaint . . . the people with the facts." CRC "voluntarily took steps to turn over responsibility . . . to local people and other organizations" after new trial was assured.
- CRC funds have always been banked, regularly audited, and were voluntarily submitted to the committee. Its income tax returns have been carefully checked by the Internal Revenue Dept. whose representatives in 1954 spent 20 days going over the books in the CRC office. No witness testified that CRC funds had been diverted to purposes other than those they were collected for, despite such charges by Committee counsel Tompkins. Widely publicized statements on the Trenton case expenditures were made by persons admittedly without access to all the facts of the case.

Patterson branded the hearing "the latest step in a campaign waged by Mr. Tompkins, a disgruntled politician who is eagerly trying to persuade the Legislature to give him another $50,000 to add to the $50,000 he has already spent in his so-called investigation." Tompkins was chairman of the committee when he was defeated for re-election by present chairman Larkin.

Patterson said he expects N.Y. County D.A. Hogan, now in possession of the CRC records, to attempt a further distortion of them when the Subversive Activities Control Board opens hearings on the CRC in the N.Y.C. Federal Court House on April 5.

Talking Union . . . PWA Blues . . . Brother, Can You Spare a Dime . . . We're in the Same Boat, Brother . . . Hymn for Nations . . .

Hear these and other songs, the stories of the battles, victories, hope and humor of Americans in motion. . . .

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OUR SENIOR CITIZENS — II

Old Age Assistance checks average $51 nationally; unmet needs great

By Ione Kramer

MRS. ELLA QUIGGLE of Ada, Mich., 83 and bedridden, had an income of $60 a month, half from Social Security, and half from federal-state Old Age Assistance. When Social Security benefits were increased last fall, she was entitled to $3 a month more; so the local welfare office cut her OAA $3, leaving her as poor as before.

"Re-examining" her case, welfare ordered her granddaughter, a Mrs. Sprague—who had moved in to care for her when a doctor said Mrs. Q. couldn't live alone—to pay more support for her grandmother, and cut payments to $9, leaving a total income of $39 a month. But since Mrs. Sprague's husband was unable to work after an auto accident, she couldn't afford to help her grandmother financially. To duplicate Mrs. Sprague's care, welfare would have to pay $45 a week for a nurse or $120 a month in a nursing home.

Learning of the welfare decision, Townsend clubs in the state held mass meetings, protested until the department restored Mrs. Quiggle's full payment. But the story remains as an example of how Old Age Assistance works in the U. S. for 2½ million OAA recipients.

"UNMET NEEDS": Administered by states—with federal aid up to $55 per person for those not covered or insufficiently covered by Social Security—OAA payments averaged $51.55 nationally last August. State averages were from $26.41 in Mississippi to $82.76 in Connecticut. In California, a team of Pomona College researchers found 79% of the couples and 37% of the single OAA recipients with "unmet needs." Medical care, drugs, clothing, false teeth and glasses, in that order, and food topped single folks' lists. Half of the state's 65-plus group thought the grants ($69 a month) were too low.

Out of her $52.25-a-month OAA check, frail Mrs. Alla Meyers, 73, of Wonewoc, Wis., had saved $60 "to buy winter necessities." But the welfare director, declaring "a pensioner had no right to accumulate money," confiscated it. The newspapers raised a storm and the county ordered the director to return it. She refused, but put it into a "burial fund" for Mrs. Meyers. The county came across with another $60 for Mrs. Meyers, but there remained the contradiction of a zealous budget keeper in a supposedly humanitarian position.

THE PENNY-PINCHERS: An elderly man in Washington state received a $3 monthly rent rebate last year to repair a stove. Later the welfare changed its mind about the rebate and, though the money was spent, deducted $9 from each monthly check until the total rebate was paid back.

These are only a few of the indignities which OAA pensioners face under the attitude that the OAA payments are "charity." State or local administrators, pressed for funds for a variety of purposes, get regulations enacted to lower payments or cut more people off OAA lists. Last November a Los Angeles County Grand Jury found $286,000 had been taken from the Bureau of Public Assistance to help pay for improved parking facilities at the Hollywood Bowl.

Some state laws enforce a limit to the real or personal property a recipient may own ($100 in some southern states, $1,000 and over in others); residence requirements or U. S. citizenship (11 states); "lien laws" which give 33 states first claim on any estate left by the recipient.

"Relative responsibility" clauses in 32 states permit investigation and frequent pressure. Opponents of these clauses claim that the higher cost of living for workers make them a hardship.

"SHAME LISTS": Most bitterly fought has been publication of the names of OAA pensioners. Administrators justify it to "smoke out" alleged "chiselers"; but politicians, and snoopers also, would have access to the lists. Publication was forbidden under the Social Security Act, but in 1951 Sen. Jenner (R.-Ind.) tacked onto an unrelated fund bill an amendment permitting states to specify conditions under which names could be released. By Nov., 1953, 28 states were permitting the practice.

Campaigning against unfair laws, pension groups contend OAA payments are a right, not a starvation dole to be miserably squeezed out of unwilling local officials. Both state and national administrators expect that, as more people are brought under its coverage, the federal Social Security program will replace OAA grants; but this may take 20 years.

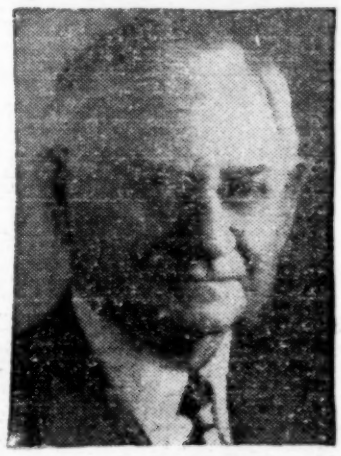
(Another article soon will discuss organizations of the aged and their solutions to their problems).

CHANGE OF DEADLINE

ATTENTION ADVERTISERS

Beginning with the next issue NATIONAL GUARDIAN will change its publication schedule. The paper will be printed and mailed WEDNESDAY each week instead of Thursday. Advertising copy must arrive on Monday to be included in the week's issue.

Detroit in tribute to Judge O'Brien



On March 15 the Detroit chapter of the Natl. Lawyers Guild gave a testimonial dinner, attended by 800 persons, to Judge Patrick H. O'Brien on his 87th birthday. On the dais to honor the distinguished lawyer, judge, author, teacher and political leader were Gov. Williams of Michigan, Dist. Judge Frank Picard, who presided at the Detroit Smith Act trial, Michigan's Chief Judge Arthur Lederle, former Gov. Van Wagoner, Prof. Malcolm Sharp, president of the Natl. Lawyers Guild. Messages were read from former President Truman and many others. In his speech Judge O'Brien said: "In my own practice as a lawyer and in my career as a judge, the Bill of Rights has been my yardstick in determining both my philosophy legally and my position legally on matters involving the rights of man."

Vincent Hallinan in person at the Guardian rally, April 20, N. Y. City Center Casino, 8 p.m.

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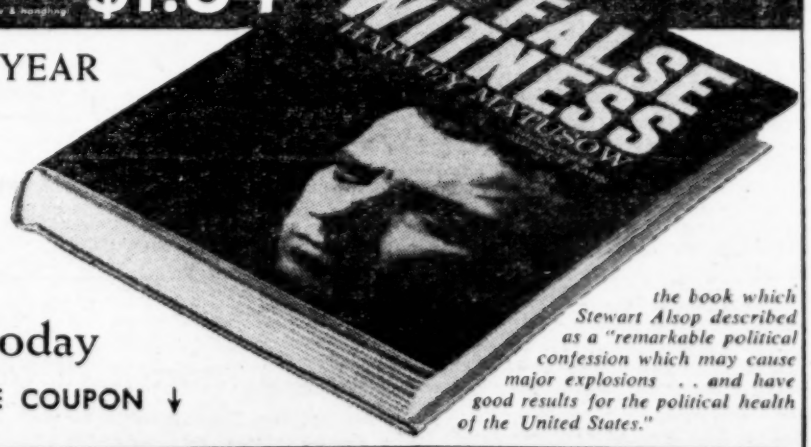

the book which Stewart Alsop described as a "remarkable political confession which may cause major explosions . . and have good results for the political health of the United States."

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THE CEYLON CASE

Mrs. de Silva sues airline, charges it held her captive

ON a bitter March day one year ago Rhoda Miller de Silva, an American married to a Ceylonese, walked into the GUARDIAN office wearing sandals and a thin cotton dress. She had just flown 12,000 miles, having been suddenly deported—at the instance of U.S. authorities, as she later charged in a letter to President Eisenhower—from her home in Ceylon.

Last month Mrs. de Silva filed suit against Trans World Airlines, charging kidnaping and false imprisonment and claiming $200,000 damages for TWA's complicity in separating her from her husband and forcibly returning her to the U.S. She charges that TWA held her captive on the plane, as at Bombay, or on the ground in the plane's immediate vicinity as at other fields on the flight. Charges also include preventing a writ of habeas corpus from being served after it was issued by Ceylon's Supreme Court, and preventing her from contacting her husband or friends who might have come to her aid en route. The TWA thus explained its action: "We are carrying out orders to return you to New York—by force, if necessary." Ceylonese newspapers on March 18, the day after the abduction, reported that "two American Security officers assisted" in her deportation and "police at airports were alerted."

The complaint was filed in N.Y. Federal Court by attorney Charles Recht. A provisional committee to aid Mrs. de Silva (PO Box 771, Church St. Sta., N.Y.C.) has been formed under sponsorship of James Aronson, Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois, Rev. Howard Melish, Dr. Willard Uphaus and others. Its immediate object is to raise necessary funds to make the story more widely known and to explore legal aspects of the case. A fact sheet (copies on request) is available to aid in bringing the case to local newspapers' attention.

AUDIENCE WAS POLITE

Negro College Fund hears Dulles give pep talk for war

THE United Negro College Fund was organized in 1944 by Frederick Douglass Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, as an "educational chest" through which 31 private colleges make a pooled appeal for help to improve Negroes' opportunities for higher education. Member colleges, currently training about 23,000 on small endowments and low tuition fees, look to UNCF for 10% of their operating budgets. Last month UNCF, whose program a fact-sheet describes as "noncontroversial, non-political," held a convocation at New York's Metropolitan Opera House; its invited speaker, following Morehouse College (Atlanta) president Benjamin E. Mays, was Secy. of State Dulles.

Dr. Mays said that in 15 years there would be five million young people in U.S. colleges and universities, and asked: "Where will we put them? Can we double the dormitories, the teachers, the classroom space, the laboratory facilities and the endowments in 15 years?" To this implication of a long period of peace, Dulles seemed to be replying when he told the educators:

> "In the past it has unhappily proved necessary to forego peace in order to assure the blessings of liberty. We dare not be blind to the fact that that may happen again."

THEIR MASTER'S VOICE: The 31 heads of Negro colleges listened politely. They included John A. Bacoats of Benedict College, Columbia, S. Carolina—whose Governor George B. Timmerman, referring to the U.S. Supreme Court's decision against jimcrow schools, recently said the American people's "greatest constitutional problem today is how to curb the presently uncontrolled authority" of the Court; and Harold C. Warren of Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Mississippi —where one county, Tunica, with an 80% Negro population, spent in 1952 $270.69 per white child, $21.36 per Negro child. Dulles told them it was "inspiring to be here with those who are seeking to give real content to the concept of equal opportunity for all without regard to race, religion or class," and chided the U.S.S.R. for its "callous unconcern" for its people's welfare.

In calling the roll of distinguished Negro educators, the name of W. E. B. DuBois was hurriedly mentioned at the convocation. In a recent GUARDIAN article (2/14) Dr. DuBois wrote:

> "It is fair to admit that most American Negroes, even those of intelligence and courage, do not yet fully realize that they are being bribed to trade equal status in the U.S. for the slavery of the majority of [black and colored] men. When this is clear, especially to black youth, the race must be aroused to thought and action and will see that the price asked for their co-operation is far higher than need be paid, since race and color equality is bound to come in any event."

• • •

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AFRICA: THE GIANT STIRS — VIII

Kenya: The war that can't be won

JOMO KENYATTA
(Left) For Britain no victory

AFRICA'S EASTERN COAST
In the center, the tinderbox

By W. E. B. DuBois

I SAW Jomo Kenyatta in 1945 at the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England. He was a big man, yellow in color, intelligent. Today he is in jail convicted of planning the rebellion in Kenya against British oppression. Whether or not he actually planned this rebellion, I do not know; but never in modern history was a nation more justified in revolution than the 5¼ million black people of Kenya.

Kenya is a fertile island set in a desert sea. Kenya mountain rises from its north-eastern corner, exactly on the Equator, covered wiith eternal snow. Of the 225,000 sq. miles in Kenya over half is desert. Of the rest, 3,000 white settlers own 16,700 sq. miles of the most fertile land and 5,250,000 Africans occupy, without ownership rights, 52,000 sq. miles of the poorest.

This land originally belonged to cattle-herding tribes without permanent settlements. English missionaries, inspired by Livingstone's appeal, first entered followed by explorers seeking the source of the Nile. Then came the colonial imperialists, England seeking to outrun the Germans. Finally England seized the territory, confiscated all the land and sold it to whites at 2 cents an acre in baronies of 10 to 100 thousand acres.

HUNGER & FORCED LABOR: Of the good land held by whites, only 6% is under cultivation. On the native reserves the density of inhabitants per sq. mile is 674, and half this land is unsuitable for cultivation. Driven from their land, the Africans began to enter the towns, where many thousands of them lived without shelter in conditions of near-starvation. Laborers and servants are paid an average of $5.18 a month, clerks and artisans from $11 to $42.

In the legislature the 29,000 whites have 14 elected representatives; the 90,000 Asiatics have six, and the 24,000 Arabs one elected and one appointed; the 5,251,120 Negroes have no elected representatives but the Governor nominates six to speak for them. The natives pay three different kinds of direct taxes, and indirect taxes are placed on their necessities instead of on luxuries. They have been in the past subjected continually to forced labor, legal and illegal; the successors of the missionaries, including Anglican bishops, once insisted that the settlers should have the right to force the natives to work.

THE PEOPLE ORGANIZE: In the last 25 years the policy of England has vacillated. Commission after commission has made proposals, but the basic situation has not been changed. Of the Negro children 7 to 11 years old, a third are in school, and Kenya spends about $6 a year on their education. The black folk of Kenya made every effort to obtain relief. They built and ran thousands of schools of their own. They made close contact with the British Labour Party but got nothing from them. They organized the "Kenya African Union" and held a conference attended by delegates from all Kenya. They declared in 1947:

> "That the political objective of the Africans of Kenya must be self-government by Africans for Africans, the rights of all racial minorities being safeguarded.
>
> "That more land must be made available both in the Crown Lands and in the highlands for settlement by Africans.
>
> "That free compulsory education for Africans, as is given to the children of other races, is overdue.
>
> "That the deplorable wages, housing and other conditions of African laborers must be substantially improved and that the principle of equal pay for equal work be recognized."

The Union grew to 10,000 members. Patriotic songs were written and seven weekly newspapers established. Two representatives were sent to England to plead with the British people, but no substantial relief came. As a resident white said: "We are going to stay here for the good of Africa, and as long as we stay we rule!"

WAR THAT CAN'T BE WON: At last in 1952 open rebellion flared in Kenya with secret organization, murder and arson. As to just how far this went, how many were killed and how the economy was disrupted, there has been no official report; but clearly the whites were frightened. A state of "emergency" was declared on Oct. 20, 1952. By June, 1954, $22,500,000 had been spent to suppress the rebellion and the fight is now costing $2,800,000 a month.

The Royal Air Force has dropped 220 tons of bombs in nine months. British troops and police have killed 130 Africans for every European killed in the Kenya war, without counting the number of Africans killed by R.A.F. bombs. The Kenya African Union has been suppressed and its leaders jailed. Jomo Kenyatta said when sentenced to seven years in jail:

> "What we shall continue to object to is discrimination in the government of this country, and we shall not accept that, in jail or out of it. . . . What we have done and shall continue to do is to demand rights for the African people as human beings."

As D. N. Pritt, the great British lawyer, says:

> "A cruel and brutal war has been raging for nearly two and a half years to hold the Africans in subjection and maintain the settlers as masters of the best land in the country. This war cannot be won by the British in a military sense. If it could be, it would still leave unresolved, and indeed untouched, every agrarian, economic and national grievance, and would thus inevitably lead to a new war in the near future."

APRIL 25, 1945 — THE MEETING ON THE ELBE

Joe Polowsky's 10-year crusade

TEN YEARS AGO this spring, Pvt. Joe Polowsky, U.S. Army, and five other GI's rowed across the Elbe River at Strehla, 75 miles south of Berlin. They reached the other side at 12:30 p.m. on April 25, 1945, and—after four years as allies in World War II—the American and Soviet armies first met. In the presence of 200 corpses from the night's fighting (one observer remembers especially that of a child with blue eyes and long brown hair clutching crayons in one hand and a doll in the other) Russian and American soldiers shook hands, drank friendship toasts, pledged that war would not come again.

On the same day in San Francisco, representatives of their nations and 44 others were meeting to establish an international organization for the enforcement of peace which became the United Nations. They heard President Truman declare: "If we do not want to die together in war, we must learn to live together in peace."

SPRINGTIME WORK: Joe Polowsky, civilian, never forgot the promise of April 25, 1945. For 10 years he has been working to get that date celebrated as "the most hopeful day of the century." It was, as Gen. Eisenhower said on its fifth anniversary in 1950, "almost the peak of our establishment of world accord."

Every spring for 10 years, Polowsky, who lives at 1507 N. Hoyne Av., Chicago, Ill., has left his job to work on his project. He wrote his former companions:

"We cannot forget that we and the Russians met as friends ten years ago; conscience and memory compel us on both sides to do no less now than to resolve that Americans and Russians shall meet as friends again."

His greatest hope is that the six Americans and six Russians who met in 1945 can meet on this tenth anniversary, perhaps in the E. German town of Torgau (where a memorial to the meeting stands), or at the UN or Moscow or London, or Washington, where vets of the Rhine crossing celebrated with President Eisenhower last month.

RUSSIANS HELPFUL: He is waiting for replies also from the 91 Americans who later participated in the Elbe ceremony. John R. Wheeler, of Winstead, Conn., one of the original six, has pledged to help. The Soviet Embassy in Washington said it would help locate the six Russians. Polowsky will visit the UN himself this month.

Polowsky, who said he's a Taft Republican, gave himself 10 years to achieve his goal. Every spring, he says, something has come up, like Dienbienphu last year, to dim his dream. But this year he thinks chances are the "best ever for recognition of the idea of friendship as the basis for permanent peace." It has been more or less a one-man project. When the 10 years are up, he said, he'll write a book on philosophy and get married. "Only a single man could have afforded such sacrifices for history," he said.

But he's far from "single" in his desire for peace. Five years ago the Washington **Post** editorialized:

> "There is a good deal of merit in the suggestion that the [UN] General Assembly recommend appropriate commemoration of April 25 as a day of international amity. The good will that encircled the globe on that occasion must not be lost if our civilization is to survive."

The next few weeks will tell. It will take a big helping hand for Joe Polowsky.

"HELLO, JOE," THEY SAID, "HELLO, TOVARICH"
This was the historic meeting on April 25, 1945

Yalta papers

(Continued from Page 1)

the Black Sea" (Clemenceau) by which Britain and France sought to "contain communism" after World War I.

- Stalin's readiness to make concessions, beyond any required by power realities, for the sake of Big Three unity.

- Churchill's petulant, unsuccessful effort to involve FDR in the gang-up; his insincerity on Big Three unity, apparent in his jibes about "world domination," etc.

MAN WITH CIGAR: Churchill came to Yalta after fighting "for two years to delay the cross-channel invasion of Europe . . . to force a change in Allied strategy so [as] . . . to protect British interests against his Russian ally—and to the jeopardy of swift victory."[2] These British interests were defined in part by the fact that after World War I the West, under British leadership, amputated 330,000 sq. miles of Russian territory, carved it into buffer states upon which anti-Soviet dictatorships were forced. At Yalta, Churchill aimed:

- To restore in E. Europe British influence and the fascist and semi-fascist forces through which it had been maintained. Hence his stubborness against Stalin's demand that Poland's government be based on the Lublin government, set up out of the underground a year earlier. Stalin's demand was finally granted because FDR understood Russia's need for security in its army's rear and a friendly Poland on its borders after the war. But in the spring, after FDR died, Churchill and Roosevelt's successors whipped up a crisis over Stalin's "violation of Yalta"—i.e., his insistence on what had been agreed about the Polish government.

- To prevent a real Soviet-U.S. accord and use Germany, France and the "small powers" as counters to Soviet influence. Hence his attempt to block German reparations for Russia, his opposition to any decision on dismemberment, his insistence on France as a member of the Control Council for Germany, etc.

Yalta's design for peace did not accord with British imperialist and tory interests; Churchill as their spokesman never paid it more than lip-service, as his subsequent actions showed.

ASSIGNATION IN BERNE: In February, 1945, British-German negotiations, arranged by the O.S.S.'s Allen Dulles, took place in Berne, Switzerland. The British government refused a Soviet demand that its representatives be present, ignored a Soviet protest note of March 21. On April 1 Stalin wrote to Roosevelt[1]:

> ". . . On the basis of data which they have on hand [my military colleagues] do not have any doubts that the negotiations have taken place, and that they have ended in an agreement with the Germans, on the basis of which the German commander on the Western Front, Marshal Kesselring, has agreed to open the front and permit Anglo-U.S. troops to advance to the east, and the Anglo-Americans have promised in return to ease the peace terms for the Germans."

Churchill and Roosevelt (whose information, not good faith, Stalin questioned) denied this charge. The truth may never be known. But the Germans did open that front, surrendering in droves to the Western allies and giving up big cities without a fight, while they fought bitterly for every outpost in the East; and it was not long before the Western allies did ease the peace terms.

THE CURTAIN: These facts are also relevant:

- Churchill writes[1] that at that time (Feb.-March,1945), his "mind oppressed with forebodings," he decided:

> "First, that Soviet Russia had become a mortal danger to the free world. Secondly, that a new front must be immediately created against her onward sweep. Thirdly, that this front in Europe should be as far east as possible. . . . Finally . . . that a settlement must be reached on all major issues between the West and East in Europe before the armies of democracy melted or the Western allies yielded any part of the German territory they had conquered. . . ." [as agreed at Yalta].

- Churchill boasted last fall that "even before the war had ended" he instructed Britain's Montgomery to "stack" German arms "so that they could easily be issued to the German soldiers whom we should have to work with if the Soviet advance continued" (NYT, 11/24/54).

- On May 1, 1945, Nazi Admiral Doenitz proclaimed a new German government at Flensburg in the British zone, and called on Germans "to fight on to halt the Bolsheviks" while asserting "the struggle against the westers powers has become senseless." On May 12 Doenitz's government broadcast—and Britain did not deny—that "in agreement with British occupation authorities" it had taken command of the area occupied by Montgomery's troops. On May 14 Doenitz's Foreign Minister von Krosigk told the BBC that the only alternative to Allied recognition was "a chaos which might cause a big political swing to the Right or Left." On May 23 outraged public opinion forced the British to dissolve the Doenitz government.

- During this period Churchill announced he would arm and equip up to 250,000 additional "London Polish" troops. On May 13, in a world broadcast, he said an "iron curtain" was descending over Europe; growled at the formation of "totalitarian, police" governments in E. Europe (they were being formed as provided at Yalta); proposed, in somewhat guarded but nonetheless plain terms, an Anglo-U.S. alliance to police the world. (In April, Churchill reportedly told Dorothy Thompson he had proposed to the Truman government that the Anglo-U.S. armies should wait only to consolidate their positions in Germany before undertaking the "march to the East"—sometime in August, he thought.[3])

This sequence of events is only a small part of the record of the betrayal of Yalta. Subsequent articles will continue the story.

1 Winston Churchill: **Triumph and Tragedy.**
2 Elliott Roosevelt: **As He Saw It.**
3 Miss Thompson so informed other newsmen on return from her 1945 trip abroad.

Marshal Stalin said he would withdraw the Soviet amendment and leave the British draft as it had been.

The draft of the last paragraph regarding Polish frontiers was accepted.

Mr. Molotov replied "yes," that

He said in closing that he wished to repeat that he fully agreed with the President's proposals and withdrew any objections or amendments but would request

Marshal Stalin said he did not object to the United States having bases at Komsomolsk or at Nikolaevak. He said the first

Mr. Stettinius inquired as to the status of Mr. Molotov's amendment of February 9.

Mr. Molotov agreed that it should be dropped, though he re-

Marshal Stalin to President Roosevelt

(Translation)

appears on the original

Koreis, February 11, 1945.

Dear Mr. Roosevelt: I have received your letter of February 10. I entirely agree with you that, since the number of votes for the Soviet Union is increased to three in connection with the inclusion of the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet White Russia among the members of the Assembly, the number of votes for the U. S. A. should also be increased.

(HOPKINS PAPERS)
THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL ASSISTANT (HOPKINS) TO THE PRESIDENT

(Yalta, February 10, 1945.)

Mr. President: The Russians have given in so much at this conference that I don't think we should let them down. Let the

WHAT YOU'D NEVER KNOW FROM THE PRESS "ANALYSES"
Just a *few excerpts from the 200,000-word "Yalta Papers" explaining why Hopkins said "the Russians gave in so much."*

Books we're dying not to read dept.

ATOMS FOR PEACE, by David Woodbury; Dodd, Mead, $3.50. — Mr. Woodbury has conducted an exhaustive survey of work under way and contemplated for the use of atomic energy in peaceful fields. He believes, for instance, that the first atom-powered bomber will be announced within the next few years, and that the U.S. will be in possession of a Navy and Air Force with many atomic units within the next 25 years. He takes a dim view, however, of the use of such energy for automobiles. . . .

—"About Books," New Orleans Item, March 13.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG: "I WAS IN MOSCOW AT THE TIME OF YALTA"

The facts about Russia, China and the Japanese

By Anna Louise Strong

I WAS in Moscow at the time of Yalta, and in Manchuria later, and can offer some facts against the distortions now being made by inspired commentators—now when Americans think our forces won all the war, that the Russians and Chinese needed only to do the dying while Washington took over the pieces and fixed up the world.

The picture is created that Roosevelt sold out to Stalin, giving him a lot of the Far East in return for negligible help in the war with Japan; that Stalin sold out China by promising to deal with Chiang and then turning Manchuria over to the Communists; and that this is the foundation of our Far East troubles today. All these statements are lies.

FAR EAST FACTS: In Moscow at the time of Yalta I heard the views of Russians and of U.S. and British diplomats, and know what the situation was. In the Far East, our Chiefs of Staff estimated it would take 18 months more to win unless Russia entered in force; nor was this estimate absurd. For while it is true that Japan was ready to surrender even before we used the A-bomb, this was because she knew the Russians were moving east to strike her and she could not survive a second front. She made the surrender offer to Russia, hoping to keep Russia neutral.

THE BIG THREE AT THE YALTA CONFERENCE
Prime Minister Churchill, President Roosevelt and Premier Stalin

In Manchuria the situation was this. Chiang gave it up in 1931 and ordered the Manchurians NOT to fight Japan. Japan had in Manchuria her strongest army, far stronger than all the armies America fought in the islands. It was feared that even if the emperor surrendered, the Japanese army in Manchuria would set up an empire; and neither Chiang nor America nor both combined could have conquered this empire if Russia merely stayed neutral. It was also feared that Russia, at her own pleasure, might conquer Manchuria and nobody could stop her.

THANKS FROM MME. CHIANG: It was therefore considered a triumph to get Stalin to agree to smash the Japanese in Manchuria and then to turn Manchuria over to China, subject only to the same joint possession of the railway and the Port Arthur naval base that she had had with China before. The information was kept from Chiang at the time because it was common knowledge that his higher generals were in traitorous contact with Japan. When the terms were revealed finally, Madame Chiang personally thanked Roosevelt for them; so also, in Moscow, did T. V. Soong.

It was thus the moving of Russia's armies eastward, even before they struck, and before the A-bomb fell, that completed Japan's demoralization. This, together with the A-bomb, brought about the surrender of Tokyo. But the Soviet armies alone, by their drive through Manchuria, brought about the surrender of the mighty Japanese Manchurian army and empire. This was a bloody conflict. It was fast, but only because the Russians first piled up overwhelming force and used all they had learned from Hitler's blitzkrieg. I think it possible that Russia lost as many men against Japan as America did during the whole war.

HOW RUSSIA SAW IT: U.S. commentators sneer at Stalin's statement that he had to have "reasons" to persuade the Russian people to attack Japan. I happen to know that Stalin's statement was strictly true. Russians were war-weary; many families, whose men had barely survived the war with Hitler, resented losing them in a war with Japan. Russians were also ashamed to be breaking a treaty of non-aggression which they had with Japan. Stalin could take them into that war only for two reasons: 1) the reason of national interest, that they would thus regain what they lost to Japan in 1905; 2) the reason of future world peace, that thus the Far East would be rationally stabilized, and Russia's only port, Vladivostok, would have a protected access to the Pacific.

These were sound and true reasons. They were righty recognized by Roosevelt. Today they are unrecognized by Americans who unilaterally dictated to conquered Japan, and disregarded the Chinese and Russians, who had done as much as the U.S. to win that victory.

CHIANG'S SELF-DEFEAT: The statement that Russia sold out Chiang is also not true. The Soviet army drove down the railway and highways, took control of the cities, invited Chiang to send in his government and army. Chiang flew in the administration for all the Manchurian cities; the U.S. brought in his army while the Soviet army protected Chiang's government for nine months.

Chiang was defeated by two facts. He sent in non-Manchurians to govern a proud people, and these governors looted and made common cause with the former Japanese puppets; he followed this up by an army from south China, who could not even speak the Manchurians' language and who were as foreign as and worse behaved than the Japanese. The Russians were officially asked by Chiang to stay on, to give him time to consolidate government. They complied for nine months, even though they found themselves in the embarrassing position of protecting Chiang's attacks on the Manchurian people.

When Chiang's army, advancing into Changchun, killed Russians there, the U.S.S.R. announced withdrawal. At Chiang's request she then evacuated Chiang's civil governments from the northern cities of Manchuria, and sent them home via Vladivostok, to keep the Manchurian people from killing them.

THOSE JAPANESE ARMS: As for the giving of arms by Russia to the Chinese Communists, this was everywhere denied in Manchuria when I was there in 1946. Gen. Lin Piao, commander of Manchuria, said emphatically:

> "The Russians gave us nothing. Whatever arms they brought with them, they took back with them. Whatever arms they took from the Japanese, they took back to Siberia or destroyed on the spot."

All evidence I found showed this to be true. However, the Russians, knowing the Manchurian population to be hostile to Japan, did not bother to clean up the county garrisons; they contented themselves with smashing the main Japanese concentrations and leaving the outlying garrisons to their fate. Local Manchurians cleaned up isolated Japanese and took their arms. The arms thus came into the hands of local peasants of all persuasions—bandits, Kuomintang men, Communists—but basically any Manchurian peasants who wanted arms and had guts.

Chiang could have had their allegiance by giving them good government and restoring order. He didn't; the Communists did. It was only by the process of organizing peasants for self-government that the Chinese Communists finally got Japanese arms.

General MacHindsight

THAT Japan could not be defeated in 1945 merely by U.S. invasion of that country itself, and that the Russians were needed in force for the formidable task of destroying the Japanese army in Manchuria, was well understood at the time by U.S. Pacific commander Gen. MacArthur. At a meeting in Hawaii on Feb. 28, 1945, MacArthur told Secy. Forrestal—according to Forrestal's record in his **Diaries**—that "a very large part of the Japanese army" was in Manchuria and that reserving of U.S. strength for the assault on Japan itself "could not be done without the assurance" that this army "would be heavily engaged by the Russians. He expressed doubt that the use of anything less than 60 divisions by the Russians would be sufficient. . . . He felt that we should secure the commitment of the Russians to active and vigorous prosecution" of this campaign in Manchuria.

This confirms what Miss Strong writes and makes nonsense of MacArthur's statement March 23 that "my views were never solicited. . . . Had [they] been . . . I would most emphatically have recommended against bringing the Soviet into the Pacific war at that late date. To have made vital concessions for such a purpose would have seemed to me fantastic."

LOUISVILLE FRAME-UP

Braden loses plea, $40,000 bail stays

TWO steps backward and one step forward was the score last month in the Louisville "sedition" case stemming out of Negro Andrew Wade's purchase of a house in a white neighborhood.

Complaints made by Wade against three white neighbors, who had admitted to an investigating grand jury that they burned a cross before his house, were thrown out of Quarterly Court. Grounds were that the grand jury had not indicted the three; Wade's lawyer, C. Ewbank Tucker, said he would seek those indictments by a new grand jury.

Carl Braden's request that his bail be cut from $40,000 to $10,000 to leave him free while appealing was rejected March 18 in the Kentucky Court of Appeals. While stating that in his judgment "a bond of half the amount would suffice," Judge Coleman Wright said he could not overrule the trial judge who set the bond. Braden is in the La Grange reformatory under 15-year sentence for "sedition" resulting from his helping Wade buy a house.

RELIGIOUS GROUP'S CONCERN: Braden's appeal, and trials for his wife Mrs. Anne Braden and five other white people who aided Wade, which were delayed for lack of a court stenographer, are expected to resume shortly. The court has rehired, with a raise, the stenographer who quit after he was ordered to furnish at his own expense a million-word transcript of Braden's trial. Mrs. Braden's trial date is April 18.

The step forward: The Religious Freedom Committee announced that their lawyer, Royal W. France, is preparing a friend-of-the-court brief to aid Braden's appeal. According to the group's **Religious Freedom News**, the brief will stress that:

> "The fight against segregation is encouraged by the major religious denominations as constituting religious social action, and the punishment of Carl Braden for participating in such Christian social action raises a genuine issue of a state's interference with religious freedom in contravention of the first amendment to the Constitution."

Carl and Anne Braden are active members of the Protestant Episcopal church, and one of their co-defendants, Miss Louise Gilbert, of the Church of the Brethren. RFC (118 E. 28th St., N.Y.C. 16) is an interracial and interfaith group of clergy and lay people.

Fritchman radio time and station changed

Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, minister of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, heard during the past year on KABC, has changed stations and hours. His program, "Unitarian Time," will now be heard Sunday evenings at 6:30 on XERB 1090 k.c., the San Diego 50,000-watt station. Fritchman, for seven years at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, was formerly editor of **The Christian Register**, the national Unitarian magazine in Boston. He is president of the Community Medical Center in Los Angeles.

EVEN THE REPUBLICANS HOWLED

Ike picks Wood, denounced as Kluxer, for Subversive Board at $15,000 a yr.

THERE is no lack of deserving Republicans looking for jobs, but President Eisenhower on March 4 picked a Georgia Democrat for a three-year appointment to the Subversive Activities Control Board at $15,000 a year. His choice, ex-Congressman John S. Wood, was promptly denounced by a vice-chairman of the Georgia State Republican Central Committee as a former leader of the Ku Klux Klan.

John Wesley Dobbs, prominent Negro leader of Atlanta, wrote Atty. Gen. Brownell on March 7:

"I have been reliably informed that ex-Congressman Wood was not only a member of the Ku Klux Klan, but was one of the leaders of that organization in his community. I think your office should have this information concerning a man whose duty will be to pass on the merits of subversive organizations, since Ku Klux Klan, itself, has been designated a subversive organization."

AN OLD CUSTOM: Wood, who headed the House Un-American Activities Committee in the 82d Congress, served six terms in Congress; he did not seek re-election in 1952. In 1946 he was elected with less than 15,000 votes out of a total population of over 235,000 in his Congressional District.

As head of the Un-AAC he refused in 1946 to investigate the KKK despite insistent demands from several parts of the country where it showed signs of revival. On June 5 that year he said:

"The threats and intimidations of the Ku Klux Klan are an old American custom—just like illegal whiskey making."

Wood's attacks on the radio industry succeeded in driving most liberal commentators from the air in 1946. His committee's report for that year listed the criteria for determining subversive newscasters; they were deemed guilty if they criticized any of the following: the State Dept.; "anti-Russian and anti-Communistic" newspapers; Franco of Spain; Peron of Argentina; Gen. Douglas MacArthur; Chiang Kai-shek. Special notice was given to those who "openly call for the dissolution of the British empire."

TELL KILGORE: "In 1947 Wood introduced a bill to prohibit the closed shop; in 1950 he sponsored a bill to outlaw industry-wide bargaining. Under provisions of the Brownell-Butler bill adopted by the 83d Congress, trade unions now come within SACB's scope.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has appealed to Sen. Harley Kilgore, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, to hold public hearings on Wood's appointment before recommending his confirmation by the Senate. The ECLC urges all interested persons to write Sen. Kilgore and to their own Senators to oppose confirmation of Wood.

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Why he was behind

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Believe me, I appreciate the trust you place in your readers destitute like myself. But for myself I must confess that if I were less inclined to resent unfair treatment by the big moguls on the job, I'd be less frequently in arrears. By the same token, I'd be less concerned with the problems of social injustice—problems which the old GUARDIAN tackles with skill and courage. Without its fearless criticism and exposures week by week, I suspect things would be a darn sight worse than they actually are in the glorious reign of the McCarthys.

Philip Nyman

•

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THE READER'S FORUM

On independent political action

IN A "Statement for Discussion by Progressives" (GUARDIAN, 1/10) this publication's general manager John T. McManus, an officer of the Progressive and American Labor parties, argued for "a national independent political party on the ballot in the 1956 Presidential elections." The ensuing discussion has far exceeded our capacity to print all the views expressed, despite rigorous editing of all letters, some of which have been 3,000 words long. In this further selection, many of the California letters refer to decisions of the IPP at Fresno in January, following the loss of its ballot status in 1954, rejecting the concept of a new national third party at this time as premature but reserving "our right to advocate a third party in the future."

Organizing the farmers

PALMYRA, ILL.

From a farmer's standpoint there isn't a nickel's worth of difference between the Democrats and the Republicans. Both parties permit the middle-men who first get their hands on the products of our farms to steal our crops and then fatten themselves by charging the consumer top prices. This condition needs a lot of attention by any new party seeking the cooperation of the farmer. At best farmers are difficult people to organize. Their thinking runs in all directions and it's hard to line them up on any single plan.

Theodor W. Noll

What elections showed

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Evident from last year's election is the fact that people are looking for a way to vote their opposition to rising prices, discrimination, war scares and investigations. To these we owe our allegiance. Let there be, as you suggested, a caucus in 1955 to determine our course of action in 1956. New York will be represented.

Anne McCann

A plan proposed

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Progressives must ever be in the vanguard but we cannot get so far in advance of the main army of people that they lose sight of the way we are going. An equally dangerous chance is that the reactionary enemies will succeed in cutting the progressive forces off from our base of supply—the people—if we are too far ahead.

The progressive forces should organize a bloc in the Democratic Party—a sort of quasi-independent group, much like the ADA—to present a platform and candidates. If the bloc presented a platform and candidates to the Democratic Party primaries, they stand a chance of being heard and even voted in. The issue of socialism, however desirable it may be to me and others, need not arise at this level except incidentally and educationally.

H. David Hammond

"Political isolation"

BRONX, N.Y.

Your call for "independent political action" is a call for political isolation, which will lead to very independent political suicide. We're having enough difficulty discussing Formosa, German re-armament, civil rights, etc. Let's try to decrease the confusion, hysteria, intimidation and fear around these issues before we go off into further political adventures. On this score, the GUARDIAN has done a magnificent job, and we hope, will continue to enlighten us all.

Mr. and Mrs.

Disappointed Californian

RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

Sorry, but my reaction to the decision of the IPP State Conference at Fresno is one of profound disappointment. It was not such a spirit of defeatism which put IPP on the ballot in 1948! Then we accomplished the impossible, in a political climate far less favorable than at present. I have a right to speak, as I personally approached hundreds, literally hundreds of people on the streets of San Francisco to fill petitions.

"Explore new forms of political activity?" There is only one form which can be of any effect, and that is to form the nucleus of a third-party movement. Our reason for being is to expose the phony nature of the boasted "two-party" system, to awaken the public to the fact that what we have is in reality a one-party system, rapidly driving toward fascism.

Certainly we want a broad movement. But we shall not win them by retreating just when we should advance; not by relinquishing our toehold, folding up and thus adding one more obstacle in the path of progress.

"Channeling the energies and devotion of its members more directly into the political life of their communities?" That means spending our energies in futile protests against effects instead of attacking the cause! If we are temporarily off the ballot, that is no reason why the party should dissolve. We should never dissolve until we merge into a larger, broader people's party, which is surely in the making even now.

Name Withheld

History's lesson

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

It seems to me that the lesson History teaches us is that it takes crusaders to launch a new idea, but the man of the hour in established and conventional places puts it over. FDR never belonged to a left-wing organization. The crusaders seldom get credit except in their own group after they are dead. That is just one of the facts of life we have to face.

Let's just stay in and slug; speak our sentiments and go to jail; stop mud and shot and glory in the struggle. Some day it will happen! We may be dead. We may have gone through a bloody war. Our cities and farms may have been destroyed. But some day the people will awaken—and we shall have helped!

Thelma K. Shumake

Left-handed Democrat

MANITOWOC, WIS.

As I see it—and I'll admit that as of now our two parties are as alike as peas in a pod—we must curb our impatience and start right now at the grass roots and the sidewalk level to support and elect those whom we can trust. If we can adhere to such a policy long enough we can eventually hope to elect our Federal Representatives up to the President from among those who have progressively and consistently fought for our policies. In other words we must "hitch our wagon" to the Democratic star. I do not mean the Democratic Party as such, but the party of, for and by the people, which obviously would not now be the GOP. I could call myself a left-handed Democrat.

John G. Muller

No splinter 3d party

OAKLAND, CALIF.

Talk of setting up a third party at this time without major participation by organized labor is folly. We are whistling in the dark. Since the last election we all have felt a natural letdown, and we are all asking, "Where do we go from here?" This is a proper question, but we must not rush off after the first dramatic proposal that seeks to answer it. Otherwise we will have learned nothing from the history of the Progressive Party and the recent history of the American Labor Party. This is not the time for a splinter third party. This is the time to intensify work within the Democratic Party looking forward to the development of a truly mass third party.

T. A.

The counsel of doom

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

The authoritative-sounding letter from "Name Withheld" (2/7) says:

"At the present, when we progressives must unite on the very elementary issues of civil liberties and peace, I consider it dangerous and destructive to call for socialism. We are engaged in a struggle for survival against the McCarthyites and war-mongers. These are the issues, not socialism."

And so, "we" must not be "destructive," but must once again try to arouse in the hearts of the working people the vain hope of progress through the party of their masters. Such is the "dialectics" of training for independence by prolonging dependence, of expecting people to follow tomorrow out of the swamp those who today repeatedly push them back into the swamp—and gag them with mud in the process. Well, perhaps "we" may, by all such "tactics," survive. But this will not be survival of leaders of the working class. Nor will there be "survival," much less advance, for any progressive movement that listens further to such counsel.

Tsu Dou Nim

Limited action

WESTFIELD, MASS.

Our objective should not be to support the Demos (the party) nor to attempt to build a party without a mass labor base (which would be suicidal). We should take limited, realistic, independent action, putting up a national Presidential candidate in '56 mayhap, as a political barometer more than as the people's savior, voting for Morse-like Democrats but voting for an ALP or PP candidate when no such choice is presented.

In the present national atmosphere few people would listen to the call of a new Left party without labor's support and an economic change even if such a party had a loud enough voice to be heard, which it has not. The minions of Wall Street have monopolized the people's minds as well as their lives, their flesh.

Three Young Working Men

Socialist-Progressive Party

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

Socialism is the issue. We are fighting on behalf of the working people for socialism against capitalism in a world in which socialism is triumphing over the people's enemy centered in Wall Street. Explicit socialist propaganda, linked inseparably to every activity of the Left, is the only correct tactical line to prevent isolation and arouse and widen a real mass struggle.

First main task, in the specifically political field, is to organize a Socialist-Progressive Party, as a national center for political and cultural activity, with and without the ballot, with a non-pacifist peace drive at the top of the program. A Communist Party, reoriented or new, must enact a real vanguard role. In the political field its first concern must be to insure that the new party shall be a direct-membership party of people's democracy, and that no form of so-called "mainstream," so-called "training" for so-called "independent" political action—much less any hope of total reliance on an official labor or labor-farmer party—be allowed to substitute for and subvert the inevitable party of people's democracy.

W. E. Sternwahb

Two big facts

MIAMI BEACH, FLA.

My own preference is for a socialist program, but this is not the big question now. Today a political vacuum exists in the U.S.—there is no proper force to express the widespread desire for peace. And the second big fact, there is no force which is independent of coalitionism with the two big parties.

L. K.

Homework first

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

As a Californian who worked hard, with many others, to get a third party on the ballot, I would urge patience in developing a third party at this time. It is easy to spin the top, but I feel there should be a firm, broad base before launching support for that particular venture at this time. We have to do our homework first.

J. McE.

Who isn't ready?

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Let us examine this question of the people not being "ready." Who isn't ready, the progressives themselves, or rather a section of the progressives? But what about the workers, Negroes and farmers? Who is to answer for them? As for the union leaders—well, I hope we're not too naive on this question. Let us not permit any grass to grow under our feet, waiting for them to make a move. This gang of "new rich" is not fooling the workers. Let's never underestimate the people, as anyone who lives close, or among them, never does.

Margaret Faulkner

Columbus and us

POCATELLO, IDAHO

When Columbus sailed due west in order to arrive east, he was scientifically correct; but I doubt that it is equally correct to advocate that we sail away from a people's party in order to obtain one, for I suspect this contemplates traveling not a circuitous route but a devious one, strewn with swamps of opportunism and hills of evasion. The "leader" who is afraid to step to the front and, moreover, indicates that he believes the common people fools or cowards, will of coures lead nothing nor deserve to.

Hal Driggs

From a leg-worker

BRONX, N.Y.

In my opinion, it is organized labor that should initiate a third party. When this does happen we, of course, must give it our utmost support. I have been doing leg work in the ALP for a good many years. Having this practical experience, I am certain that a "go-it-alone" third party will not get any support. Its only effect at this time could be to divide the progressive forces.

H. G.

Rallying point

LEVITTOWN, N.Y.

No forward-looking progressive wants the ALP to fold its tent and disappear. It must become a rallying point for active fighters for peace, civil rights, material and spiritual well-being, and a better way of life—socialism. After the first atomic explosion, it would be idle for survivors (if any) to argue that it couldn't happen under socialism.

"Common sense"

As hardy as weeds

SEBASTOPOL, CALIF.

Before the die-easys superimpose their despair on us die-hards we invite them to make a personal tour among the grass-roots progressives. They would be refreshed and surprised to find that these roots are like those of weeds, which if hacked, slashed, soaked in oil or in the latest lethal compound, continue to grow upward with great gusto. The officials of the IPP are suffering battle fatigue. A minority party is a hard times party. If we needed it in '48 when the going was easy we certainly need it ten times as much now. If our leaders were convinced of their reasons for wanting an Independent Progressive Party in the first place they still should have enough conviction to maintain it.

Lois Murray

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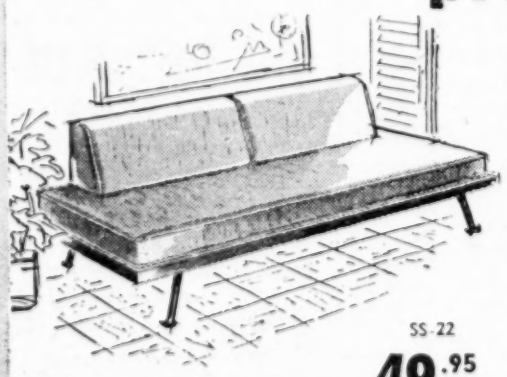

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NEW YORK

Parley Apr. 16 marks 10th year of FDR death

MARKING the tenth anniversary of Franklin D. Roosevelt's death, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has called a conference appealing to Congress for a "rebirth of freedom."

Sen. Wm. Langer (R-N.D.) will be the featured speaker at the all-day session in Carnegie Hall on April 16. Among the other speakers are: civil liberties attornies Royal W. France, Leonard B. Boudin and Frank Donner; Professors Thomas Emerson, H. H. Wilson, Broadus Mitchell and Dirk Bodde; dancer Paul Draper, Teachers Union legislative representative Mrs. Rose Russell; journalist I. F. Stone; authors Dan Gillmor and Harvey O'Connor, economist J. Raymond Walsh.

SOMETHING TO PROBE: In its call to the conference, ECLC sounded this keynote:

"We call upon the Judiciary Committee of the House and Senate to establish a joint committee to investigate abridgements of civil liberties throughout the land. We urge [it] to review all existing legislation that limits constitutional freedoms of belief, expression and association. We urge the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Judiciary Committee to conduct hearings regarding the government's use of paid informers. We urge Congress to adopt a code of fair procedure for its investigations . . . to strengthen present legislation forbidding wiretapping and protecting the privacy of the mails."

5 FORUMS: From 9:30 to noon the conference will be divided into five simultaneous forums: "Orthodoxy, Heresy and the Individual Conscience" with Royal France as moderator; "Labor and Livelihood Under Tyranny," J. Raymond Walsh; "Passports, the Right to Travel, and World Understanding," Leonard Boudin; "Conformity vs. Creativity in Art and Education," Broadus Mitchell; "The Politics of Fear," I. F. Stone.

The afternoon session (2-4:30) will hear Langer and a symposium of the morning forums' moderators. ECLC is receiving registrations ($2 for the entire conference) at its offices, 421 7th Av., N.Y.C. 1.

A pig's-eye view of the Hudson

Some years ago Robert R. Young, as head of the Chesapeake & Ohio R.R., devised this billboard slogan: "A hog can cross the country without changing trains—but you can't." Now, as head of the N.Y. Central R.R., Young is seeking to abandon passenger service on the West Shore R.R. between Weehawken, N.J., and Albany, N.Y., but to allow freight to go through. So West Shore passengers got themselves up in pig masks and made up their own slogan: "A hog will be able to ride the West Shore—why can't we?" The battle is now before the N.J. Public Utility Commission.

Protest letters urged on ban on May Day

THE "Provisional Workers' & People's Committee for May Day 1955," denied permits to hold the traditional rally in Union Square, urged New Yorkers to send letters and telegrams to Mayor Wagner asking him to grant the committee the Square for at least part of Sat., April 30.

The awful truth

TOPEKA, KANS.

If I were to depend on the radio and local papers for news, I would really be confused. Everybody is rushing to the microphone or press to assure us that Washington is far ahead in the production of nuclear weapons. Science has already worried us that the earth's atmosphere is really saturated to the danger point for all of civilization. Could it be that Washington is whistling in the dark, hoping to avoid the awful truth?

O. C. Zelmer

The German-American's 14th anniv. banquet

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN, a bi-monthly and the only German language paper in the country opposed to German rearmament, will celebrate its 14th anniversary with a banquet on April 16 at the Yugoslav-American Hall, 405 W. 41st St. Rearmament will be the program's theme.

Reservations at $2.50 per person may be had by writing to: Banquet Committee, German-American, P.O. Box 214, Cooper Sta., N.Y. 3.

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

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RALLY TO COMMEMORATE THE 12th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, Sun., April 10, 1 p.m., at Manhattan Center, 34th St. & 8th Av. Impressive, colorful program. Prominent Speakers. Adm: $1.25. United Committee to Commemorate the Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. 1133 B'way. Rm. 732. Tel: WA 9-2488.

ALL FOOLS HOOTENANNY, featuring Jenny Wells Vincent, Elliot Sullivan, Pete Seeger, and many others. Sat., April 2, 7:30 p.m. The Pythian, 135 W. 70th St. Tickets $1.25 advance (reserved), $1.50 at door. People's Artists, 124 W. 21st St. WA 9-3907.

THIS SUN., APRIL 3, 8:15 P.M. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MATUSOW REVELATIONS will be told by **CARL MARZANI** of Cameron Associates, distributors of "False Witness." ALP, 220 W. 80th St. Contribution: 60c.

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CHANGE OF DEADLINE

ATTENTION ADVERTISERS

Beginning with the next issue NATIONAL GUARDIAN will change its publication schedule. The paper will be printed and mailed WEDNESDAY each week instead of Thursday. Advertising copy must arrive on MONDAY to be included in the week's issue.

WHEN GOOD NEWS IS NO NEWS

Pleasantville ADA holds peaceful meeting on human rights despite attacks by Legion

By Eugene Gordon

PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y.

PLEASANTVILLE's Americans for Democratic Action announced on March 21 that the following Friday night they'd show Edward R. Murrow's filmed TV interview with atomic scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer and play Reuben Ship's recording of "The Investigator" in the Junior High School hall. On the night of March 21, at a school board meeting, the American Legion Francher Nicoll Post's past commander, Tracey J. Powell, demanded withdrawal of the permit to use the school. Scarsdale's Un-American Activities Committee's John B. Coman and Otto Dohrenwend, supported by members of Westchester County American Legion, backed him up.

If ADA showed the film without saying Oppenheimer was a "security risk," and went through with a recording that "follows the Communist Party line in ridiculing Congressional investigations," the Legion would picket, Tracey said. All money from sales of the record, he said, went to "Communist causes."

NO CENSORSHIP: Supt. of Schools Harold Davey said that he and the board believed ADA members were fine citizens; that Pleasantville voters had authorized community organizations to use the schools and it wasn't the board's business to censor any program.

James B. White, of Yonkers, the Legion's Westchester County committee chairman, wired State Commissioner of Education Lewis A. Wilson Thursday night "to take appropriate action to prevent the Pleasantville school facilities from being used to disseminate propaganda furthering Communist aims."

The news broke into the nation's press and radio broadcasts. Reporters began converging on Pleasantville. School board president Joseph J. Corn

"One word of the truth and I'll have you jailed for obstructing justice!"

Jr. told the N.Y. Post that it simply wasn't "our business to censor what people propose to say at meetings." He said that until people have been "convicted of crime or branded subversive by the Attorney General's office we are not going to set ourselves up as little tin gods to say what people can or cannot say."

A PACKED HALL: Friday night at 8:15 p.m. the gym hall held only ADA chairman Judith Podel, some men puttering with a projector, and a few ill-at-ease persons. An elderly lady called newcomers' attention to ADA pamphlets and folders. Some titles: "Stop Sitting on the Fence—You Belong in ADA"; "Free Speech vs. The Communists."

By 8:30 the gym was crowded. A man behind this reporter said: "We weren't coming until we read the story; then we couldn't stay away." Most of the people were middle-aged or elderly, but there were lots of young people too.

Mrs. Podel told the assembly: "In this audience made up of adults you have a right to make up your own minds." She congratulated the school board "for its fine stand in this hysterical age." Nobody, she said, seemed to know whether Ship was a Communist. If he is, she said, "we condemn his point of view" but do not hesitate to use his art. Nor did she believe that "Charlie Chaplin and others who have been boycotted should be."

NO MORE PEEKSKILLS: Applause drowned the voice of an American Civil Liberties Union speaker when he referred to the Peekskill riots as "another Westchester County demonstration against constitutional rights." He said that even if the Peekskill victims "might be called extreme left-wingers, we'll be attacked, too, if we don't take action to stop it."

The Oppenheimer interview was warmly received. "The Investigator" brought down the house. If any opponent of the show was present he remained silent. There were no pickets outside.

Every New York paper except the **Post** ignored the meeting although their reporters were present. The expected unpleasantness did not come to Pleasantville, so there was no news.

Claudia Jones delegation Apr. 4

A DELEGATION of Negro and white women sponsored by the Committee to Defend Negro Leadership (1660 Fulton St., B'klyn, PR 3-2057) will appeal to Atty. Gen. Brownell in Washington April 4 to release Claudia Jones from the Federal Women's Reformatory, Alderson, W. Va., because of her serious heart illness.

One of 12 Communist Party leaders convicted of "advocating violent overthrow" in New York in Jan., 1953, Miss Jones began serving a one-year term last January. Two prominent Negro women—Mrs. Modjeska M. Simpkins, S. Carolina publisher, and Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, former publisher of the California **Eagle**—in a letter to women throughout the country, said her condition "has been greatly aggravated through the inability of prison authorities to provide the required medical and dietary necessities for one with such a cardiac ailment."

Good for low spirits

THOMPSON FALLS, MONT.

I hope we will be able to keep Cedric Belfrage here. We need him a lot more than Great Britain does.

I like the cartoons in the GUARDIAN. They are keen and always good for a laugh. They help to cheer us up when we get low in spirit. We certainly appreciate the paper. It couldn't be beat.

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the SPECTATOR

The Mayor of Clifton

By Betty Millard

(The communities described here are among those serviced for the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union by Clinton Jencks. Jencks, who played a leading role in the historic Empire Zinc strike at Bayard, N. M., and re-enacted it in the film Salt of the Earth, *has just been denied a new trial in El Paso despite the recantation of Harvey Matusow, chief witness for the state's charge that Jencks falsified a Taft-Hartley affidavit. The author is editor of* Latin America Today.*)*

LIKE two Swiss villages, Morenci clings to a mountain-top and Clifton nestles in the narrow valley below. At night, Clifton lights seen from above are diamonds strung out in the black cleft of the canyon.

By day Clifton, Ariz. (pop. 3,000) is perhaps less romantic but it's still not like just any other town. It has its 5 & 10 and Esso station and beer parlors, but opposite the 5 & 10 is Local 616, Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers. And this weathered frame building is the most important one in town.

HENRY MARQUEZ
His honor's a union man

Clifton and Morenci are dominated by the Phelps-Dodge open-face copper mine, its mill and smelter. Most of their inhabitants work for the company—and belong to Mine-Mill. Local 616's headquarters consist of a meeting hall and a small office. The latter, crowded with a couple of desks, some chairs and a pot-bellied stove, serves also as a sort of unofficial City Hall; for Local 616's business agent, Henry Marquez, is also Clifton's mayor.

COMMUNISM & ALL THAT: Marquez, a Mexican-American who speaks with the slight, pleasant Spanish intonation so characteristic of the Southwest, has been mayor six years now, re-elected twice. He told me about his campaign for State Senator last November, which all Mine-Mill members think he won:

> "At 3 a.m. I was about 500 votes ahead out of about 3,500 voters total. Then the counting stopped, and next morning it was announced that the most unpopular guy had won."

He was opposed not only by the company but by his priest, though he is a devout Catholic. The union provides its members with income tax service, and one year Marquez put up a sign reading: "All proceeds from income tax services donated to the Church." Nevertheless during the campaign the priest denounced the "communist agitators" involved in it, meaning Marquez. Said Marquez calmly:

> "Well, everyone knows Phelps-Dodge paid him to do it. But I guess he's sorry now, because this is a Mine-Mill town and nobody goes to his church any more. And those that do go don't put anything in the plate. In fact, the communist issue doesn't work in this town. It just gets us more members."

COMPANY TOWN: Phelps-Dodge owns about half of Clifton but it owns all of Morenci, which doesn't even bother having a mayor; the company manager runs everything, with a combination of paternalism and despotism. The schools are good, but only property-owners can vote for the school board and Phelps-Dodge is the only property-owner. It owns even the land under houses built by the miners, and can give them any time a 30-day notice to vacate and take their houses with them. The 30-day notice is a powerful club, and also an effective deterrent to too much competition by the few independent retail stores it allows to exist alongside its own Phelps-Dodge Mercantile Co. store.

If a Mine-Mill member gets in trouble with "the law" it's strictly company law: he's arrested by a company deputy, tried by a company justice of the peace and then, if found guilty, fired—by the company. Yet Mine-Mill dominates the town's normal life just as in Clifton. The commander of the Morenci American Legion is Local 616's former grievance chairman.

"SINCE THE UNION CAME": Dave Velasquez, Local 616 president, showed me around Morenci when he came off the graveyard shift at 8 a.m. We admired the mine's spectacular terraces—silvery, green, coppery—with the ore trains running along them. Then we drove out over stern hills typical of this Southwest country where generations of miners have struggled for survival and left a heritage of bitter humor in the names they bequeathed their inhospitable land—Buzzard Roost Canyon, Cold Creek, Rattlesnake Mountain. At a bare little miners' cemetery straggling down the hill from the road, Velasquez stopped and said:

> "That's where my father is buried. He died young of silicosis. He never had anything but poverty and struggle. I wish he could see what we have now, since the union came. . . .
>
> "It's not that we've got everything, by a long shot. We still have to fight a lot of discrimination in these towns, where there's company housing, for instance. But now we are human beings. My father had a burro; all the miners have cars now. Of course, there aren't any of us have paid for them. . . ."

Mexican-American miners who made $3 a day before the war are now making from $12 to $18 a day. And the union has ended the dual wage scale, under which Mexican-American miners got less for the same job than Anglos. Whatever attacks are made on their union, the miners I met won't forget those facts.

Betty Millard